

# OSAWATOMIE

AUTUMN 1975

NO. 3

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

**PRISON:  
BREAK  
THE  
CHAINS**

**¡LIBERTAD  
PARA  
LOLITA  
LEBRÓN!**

**REMEMBER  
ATTICA  
SEPT. 9-13  
1971**

**FREE  
THE  
SAN QUENTIN  
SIX**

**ASSATA  
SHAKUR  
MUST BE  
FREED**

Also In This Issue:  
Speech by  
Bernardine Dohrn





cover: George Jackson, murdered at San Quentin, 1971; Assata Shakur, BLA soldier; Shango, Attica brother recently acquitted; Sam Melville, murdered at Attica, 1971; "L.D." Barkley, murdered at Attica, 1971.

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### OSAWATOMIE

In 1856, at the Battle of Osawatomie, Kansas, John Brown and 30 other abolitionists, using guerrilla tactics, beat back an armed attack by 250 slavery supporters, who were trying to make Kansas a slave state. This was a turning point in the fight against slavery. For this, John Brown was given the name "Osawatomie" by his comrades.

## WHO WE ARE

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist women and men. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group which called the first national protest against the Vietnam War in 1965, and became the largest radical youth organization of our time. The name of the organization comes from a line in "Subterranean Homesick Blues", a popular song in the last decade: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows". In 1970 we made the decision to begin armed struggle and developed an underground organization. For five years the clandestine WUO has been hated and hunted by the imperialist state.

In July 1974, we published Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism. To the best of our knowledge there are currently 30,000 copies of the book in circulation.

The Weather Underground Organization is responsible for over 25 armed actions against the enemy. Eight of these were bombings directed against imperialist war and in support of the people of Indochina. This includes the attack on the Capitol in 1971, on the Pentagon in 1972 and on the State Department in 1975. Ten actions were directed against the repressive apparatus: courts, prisons, police, and in support of Black liberation. This includes attacks on N.Y. City Police Headquarters in 1970 and the California Department of Corrections following the assassination of George Jackson at San Quentin in 1971. One was a bombing of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, an action which was part of the freedom struggle of women. One was a bombing of the New York City branch of the Banco de Ponce, in militant support of striking cement workers in Puerto Rico. These actions were carried out in harmony with the demonstrations, marches and political activity of millions of people. Together they have resulted in approximately \$10 million damage to the imperialists and a significant blow to their arrogance. This is a bee sting against such a powerful enemy, but a bee sting whose strength is multiplied many times by the fact that these actions represent the early stages of sustained armed struggle led by a political organization.

Osawatomie, the revolutionary voice of the WUO, is guided by a commitment to struggle, a determination to fight the enemy, the certainty that we will see revolution in our lifetime, and a spirit of love for the exploited people of the world. In order to build a successful struggle, the people need strong organization and a revolutionary party.

The program of the Weather Underground Organization is:

- US imperialism out of the Third World.
  - Peace. Oppose imperialist war and US intervention.
  - Fight racism. Build an anti-racist base within the working class.
  - Support self-determination for oppressed peoples.
  - Struggle against sexism and for the freedom of women.
  - Organize the working class. Fight for socialism. Power to the people.
- In a single sentence, the program means this: Mobilize the exploited and oppressed people to wage the class struggle against US imperialism, the common enemy.



# WHERE WE STAND

## OUR CLASS STAND

by Bernardine Dohrn

This is a speech given by Bernardine Dohrn to a national meeting of cadres of the WUO on September 2, 1975, the 30th anniversary of Ho Chi Minh's declaration of the independence of Vietnam.

I am happy to welcome you to this meeting. You reflect, as a group, the significant growth of our organization. Cadres are the heart and soul of organization, the motor, the essence. Without good cadres, revolutionary organization cannot grow, cannot make revolution. This meeting is dedicated to you -- to your questions, to your concerns, to your development.

How many people here believe that there will be a revolution in the United States, a socialist revolution? And how many think that this revolution will be in our lifetime?

I ask, not because it is an article of faith to believe that the revolution will happen soon, nor because it is a personal question about one's own lifetime. I ask because the answer profoundly affects the type of organization we build and how we define our tasks. Let me tell a story about Lenin.

"In June, 1917, during a meeting of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, the Menshevik Tsereteli, trying to defend the Provisional Government in which he held a cabinet post and fully aware that this government was powerless to check the spreading chaos, challenged his critics to put up or shut up. 'At the present moment,' he said, 'there is no political party which would say -- Give the power into our hands; go away, we will take your place. -- There is no such party in Russia.' From the audience a voice rang out. 'There is.' It was Lenin, ready to assume the responsibilities of power at the head of the Bolshevik party."

from Evolution and Revolution  
by Grace Lee and James Boggs

We are building a communist organization to be part of the forces which build a revolutionary communist party to lead the working class to seize power and build socialism. This involves taking responsibility for every aspect of the struggle. This is our direction.

Today I will focus on two subjects: the role of Marxism-Leninism in our organizational growth, and a self-criticism of our class stand.

We must further the study of Marxism-Leninism in the WUO. The struggle for Marxism-Leninism is the most significant development in our recent history. Two years ago, when we began organization-wide study of Marxism-Leninism, we were attempting to reorganize after a long period of dispersal and fragmentation. We were debilitated, like many forces in the movement, by an



ideology of pragmatism -- looking only at the forces in motion at a given time; by vacillation between optimism at high tides and pessimism at ebbs in the struggle; and by failing to give full weight to all the basic conflicts within society. We found that in order to lead out of the chaos and to rebuild a united organization, we had to deepen our ideological foundation. The organization adopted three slogans: Organize Ourselves, Educate Ourselves, and Activate Ourselves Around a Written Program (Prairie Fire).

There were many objections to studying Marxism-Leninism, as well as great suspicion. Some members argued that Marxism would push us to the right, that most Marxists in the US ended up opportunist. Others called Marxism a "white European ideology". Others felt it didn't apply to women. When the study finally started, we realized that most members had never studied Marxism-Leninism. And our study has liberated a new spirit in us, a hunger for knowledge and ideology. We have embraced a world view in which human beings are at the center of history, for it is the unique quality of people to reflect on their experience, to learn from the past and to project into the future. It is this consciousness and self-consciousness -- this social and political responsibility -- which gives to human beings the ability to change the world.

The study furthered the unity of the WUO, and enabled us to push forward and write Prairie Fire. We discovered thru our own experiences what revolutionaries all over the world have found -- that Marxism-Leninism is the science of revolution, the revolutionary ideology of the working class, our guide to the struggle. We live in a time when there is the rich experience of many successful revolutions to draw on. To become a revolutionary today means to begin with the resources and lessons from the triumph of proletarian revolution in many countries and with the great victories of national liberation. Not only is Marxism-Leninism a body of thought, it has been applied in practice -- grasped and brought to life by millions of people, people who have stood up, taken history into their hands and transformed their lives. Within the last year alone, victory has been achieved by the revolutionary liberation forces in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Mozambique and Guine-Bissau. Each successful revolution has drawn on common lessons, and each is unique and innovative.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, or a set of static precepts; it is a living science which has to be applied creatively to our own situation. We should study the stand, method and world outlook of Marxism-Leninism and begin to apply it to the pressing tasks of class analysis and the building of communist organization in the US.

It is necessary to examine our political line and strategy. The publication of Prairie Fire was a qualitative leap in our commitment to full political struggle over our line and our practice. Honest struggle and clear recognition of errors is the only way a revolutionary organization can move forward. In evaluating Prairie Fire one year after its publication, we think it has proven to be a great book -- a strong and beautiful statement of our politics -- and we have received excellent and comradely criticism of its weaknesses which must be taken very seriously. These major weaknesses will continue to be debated and discussed among us.

In particular, we must look at our class stand. We rely on our strengths to help us overcome our weaknesses. To summarize our strengths: we have defined US imperialism as the common enemy, we have a strong consistent record



of internationalist practice, of militant support for the right of self-determination for the Black nation and Third World nations within the US, and of fighting racism. We are recognized for our strong commitment to the decisive importance of the revolution to women and of women to the revolution. We have understood the central role of national liberation in the fight against imperialism, best expressed by our practice in support of "All for Vietnam." We have undertaken armed struggle and are developing the military struggle with politics in command. These are strengths we can stand on as we deepen our class analysis of the US.

Yet we have to recognize that we have also historically downplayed the role and potential of the US working class; frozen our view of the working class in a period when its struggle was weak and imperialism achieved hegemony; stereotyped the working class as the pro-war, white hardhat, assigning the working class a permanent secondary front in the struggle. Perhaps most of all, we have viewed with suspicion any emphasis on class struggle, seeing it as a potential downplaying of the great uprisings of the Third World, a potential liquidation of the role of the Black struggle. In seeing only potential errors, we have ignored the historic mission of the working class and failed to energetically pursue our task of forging it into a conscious class, prepared to fight for the interests of the class as a whole. This cautious, one-sided and incorrect view of class struggle is a major weakness. It is wrong.

Within the US, the fundamental contradiction is between the working class -- all those forced to sell their labor power to the capitalists in order to survive -- and the imperialist ruling class. This is the contradiction which defines capitalism: it arises with the very beginnings of capitalism and continues thru its entire development. This contradiction will only be resolved when US imperialism is overthrown and the working class takes power and begins to build socialism.

Within the proletariat, the primary contradiction is racism. Of all the contradictions within the working class, it is racism which has plagued and broken the development of class struggle and revolution; without repudiating all forms of white supremacy, the working class cannot triumph in its struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The working class must build the closest alliance with the Black liberation movement and with national liberation movements here and around the world. These struggles have been dealing the heaviest blows against imperialism and intensifying all other contradictions. This intimate alliance is the political basis for defeating imperialism; it must be forged at every step of the struggle; it contains the forces which will sweep away the suffering and humiliation imposed by imperialism. The power and unity of this alliance is embodied in the Black worker -- who expresses the completely intertwined nature of national liberation and working class struggles, and who gives leadership to both. It is this consciousness which Black and other Third World workers are bringing to the working class, and joining to the new militancy of masses of women and youth in the work force.

Look around at the realities of US life right now. The US working class is a multi-national class, including in its key sectors millions of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and Asian people. 41.5% of the employed work force is women. The working class includes the unemployed, people on welfare, prisoners, housewives, children and the old.



In the depression which stalks the country, the working class is bearing the brunt. Over nine million Americans are officially out of work and this deceptive statistic excludes millions more who have stopped looking for jobs that aren't there. Over 25% of Black men officially counted as part of the labor force are out of work, and in the big cities this figure jumps to over 40%. These are the hard facts of misery and suffering. On the job workers face killing speedups and unsafe conditions and the bosses squeeze out every last bit of profit. Real wages continue to fall, food and housing costs zoom up.

The result is that the great majority of US workers can't earn enough to support a family of four even at government-calculated levels of subsistence. In a recent article in Monthly Review, Harry Braverman reported that 80% of service workers, 75% of clerical workers and laborers, 70% of factory operatives and 40% of all craft workers make less than a subsistence level wage. These statistics are based on 1971 figures -- the situation is worse today. Only with two breadwinners working full-time do most working class families scrape by.

The seeds of massive resistance and protest are visible and growing. In the coal fields of Appalachia and the South, thousands of miners are wildcatting against dangerous work conditions, the refusal of the bosses to negotiate over local grievances and the go-slow compromises and sell-outs of the union leadership. Demonstrators in New York City have fought back against the bank takeover -- protesting the thousands of layoffs, the cutbacks in necessary social services in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and the rise in subway fares to 50¢. Welfare mothers and tenant groups stormed the State House in Massachusetts demanding a restoration of welfare funds eliminated in recent budget cuts. As the crisis gets worse, police attacks on the most oppressed communities have increased. Puerto Ricans in Springfield, Mass. have mobilized against the police murders of two young men in the community. Hard times are fighting times.

With hard times gripping the people and crises everywhere, now is the time to re-examine our political line and shatter some of the stereotypes which still hold us back from organizing the working class to fulfill its historic mission -- the total destruction of US imperialism, the seizure of power, and the building of socialism. The task of revolutionaries is to forge a conscious working class -- militant, dedicated to eradicating racism from its ranks, internationalist, conscious of its own responsibility and power. Organizers must examine their base and their practice. This is a healthy and necessary development. Organizers must be based in the working class and join the people's struggles to get the depression off our backs.

As we fight back, we should bring our passion for the cause of the Vietnamese people -- now celebrating their first anniversary in the last 30 years without enemy guns on their soil -- and our absolute dedication to independence for Puerto Rico into our working class organizing.

The splendor of Vietnamese victory, culminating in the 55 day campaign of offensive and uprising has upset the global strategy of US imperialism. In a joyful celebration in Hanoi in May, Le Duan said: "...the victory of Viet Nam has opened a new stage of development, extremely favorable for the world revolutionary movement." It is our responsibility to continue the offensive, to rouse the working class and join wholeheartedly in all of its struggles against US imperialism.



## BREAK THE CHAINS

In 1959 a 16-year old Black man landed in an Alabama juvenile home accused of raping a white woman -- a friend of his. Inside he rated 75 on an IQ test and was labelled "moron" for life. In 1963 after moving to Los Angeles to live with relatives he was arrested for a ten dollar robbery coming out of an argument with his cousin. A kidnap charge was added to make it stick because during the young men's dispute they had driven miles around the city. The court-appointed lawyer insisted on copping a plea of guilty by virtue of insanity over his client's objections. The man was sentenced to one year to life, working at 30¢ a day, his release entirely conditional on complete cooperation with the prison system.

The man is Ruchell Cinque Magee, determined fighter, jailhouse lawyer, survivor of the 1970 San Rafael courthouse rebellion in which Jonathan Jackson attempted to free his brother George and several other prisoners, now locked up in San Quentin's Adjustment Center.

The story is a common one.

These peoples in this judicial system, their intention is not for justice of the peoples, as they claim. That is what they come in disguise of, to strip a people of everything. When I say strip, I mean rob, murder, exploit, intimidate, harass, persecute, everything to destroy the mind and the body. They seek to take a peoples and make them a complete vegetable. They seek to do what they cannot do.

Ruchell Cinque Magee -- 1974

The US sets up repressive prison systems all around the world -- it built the tiger cages in South Vietnam and trained torturers in Chile and Brazil. In the US, prisons are an instrument of class rule: the function of laws in a capitalist society is to protect those who have from those who have nothing, to protect things as they are from those who would overturn the established order of things. The prison system touches most people outside of the ruling class at some point in their lives. Last year eight million people were arrested. This year, more than two million people will spend some time behind bars, subject to



beatings and humiliations of all sorts.(1) On any given day, 350,000 people are locked up in local jails, state and federal prisons.(2) As everyone knows who has been in jail or has a friend or relative inside, once you're sentenced to a prison term the whole legal and social system works to keep you coming back.

Prisons exist not to protect us or to make our streets safe, but to terrorize us. This terror is particularly directed against the Black community: 42% of prisoners are Black people.(3) The absolute power which prisons represent is used against the Black community; when the Attica massacre took place the government held back the identities of the murdered prisoners from their families so no one knew if their sons, husbands or brothers were alive or dead. Schools, welfare, the military and other institutions reach into the daily lives of the people and shape our thinking and actions to conform to the



needs of capitalism. Prisons represent the ultimate institution of control, unequalled except by police or court-ordered murder, without which the other controls would fail. Prison is the big stick behind the rest of the capitalist system, critical to its functioning.

Prison regulates the working class. The myth that most prisoners are dangerous anti-social elements or murderous criminals is a convenient lie. Less than one percent of all arrests are for homicide and rape. (4) The vast majority of the people behind bars are in for crimes against property, not people. Most prisoners are working people. Before they were arrested they worked canning peaches, installing electric lines, waiting on tables, sharecropping, on the assembly line.

A continuous result of capitalist production is the creation of a relative surplus of the working population, who are readily and cheaply available in times of war and economic expansion, whose presence in the workforce helps the capitalists keep wages low and profits high. Prisoners form a key part of this reserve army of labor which also includes housewives, people on welfare, the officially-counted unemployed and the partially employed. During World War II when labor was scarce the prison population fell dramatically, then rose again with the end of the war.

Prisoners are part of the working class; prisons function to control the reserve army of labor and help allow capitalism to function. The theory that prisoners are "lumpen" elements, entirely outside the process of production, is a popular one in much of the left today, but does not fit the facts.

## HISTORY

Prisons as human warehouses were started as a Quaker reform that came into use in the US at the time of the American revolution. Labor was scarce and the Quakers argued persuasively that if offenders were isolated from society, able to do penance, they could eventually reform and rejoin the work force. This is where the word penitentiary comes from. Isolation was the key to repentance: individual cells, no talking allowed, not even a fleeting glimpse of another prisoner.

Soon after the first penitentiary was built in Pennsylvania, New York state built one in Auburn. But in addition to isolating and reforming, the architects of Auburn saw the rich possibilities for profitting off the work of the prisoner labor force. They designed the prison so that inmates had to work seven days a week from sun-up to sun-down on the state prison farm and adjoining workshops. Inmates worked together, often chained to each other, but were still not permitted

to talk - a 24-hour rule in most US prisons until struggles in the 1930's abolished it.

During the next hundred years many prisons were built. The Pennsylvania model died out in its extreme form because such a high percentage of prisoners were driven insane or died. The prison officials determined that the prison worker was too valuable a commodity to waste.

In 1870 the importance of the prison system to a rapidly growing US monopoly capitalism was formalized by the founding of the National Prison Association. Now the American Correctional Association, in 1973 it awarded its biannual meritorious service award to Russell Oswald, New York State Commissioner of Corrections at the time of the Attica uprising.

## WHO ARE PRISONERS?

"I have heard people refer to the 'criminal countenance.' I never saw one. Any man or woman looks like a criminal behind bars."

Eugene Debs, 1927  
from Walls and Bars

Prisoners are in the working class. 60% of people in jail awaiting trial -- the first stop on the road to prison -- were working at the time of their arrest, according to a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) survey in 1972. Only 30% had been unemployed for over a year. These statistics cover only those arrested who couldn't make bail. The percentage of those employed among the people who made bail must be far higher.

The income of all those arrested indicates that people worked at low-paying jobs, and that employment was part time or occasional. People inside are poor. At the time of arrest 44% of those arrested were earning less than \$1,999 a year. Only 11% earned more than \$7,500. (5)

Half of prisoners are Black and other Third World people. The legal system is imposed on Third World communities like colonial rule. Third World people are jailed with little chance to get a fair trial, to get a good lawyer, to get bailed out.

Prisoners are rebels. The criminal injustice system hunts the rebellious kids on the block and the organizers in the community. This is a generalized method of control of the Black community in particular, and the resisters in all communities. Although the US denies that there are any political prisoners here, there are many thousands locked up for their political beliefs and actions. Laws like the Rap Brown Interstate Travel Act and the Washington, D.C. Preventive Detention law have been put into effect in the last five years in a government effort to control political activists, organizers and



revolutionaries. Along with the thousands of people who become politicized by the experience of prison and join the struggle while inside, they constitute a large and growing body of political prisoners.

#### INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, EXCEPT AS A PUNISHMENT FOR CRIME WHEREOF THE PARTY SHALL HAVE BEEN DULY CONVICTED, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

13th Amendment to the US Constitution, 1865

Prison is big business. In the first hundred years of the US prison system many prisoner-workers were contracted out to private employers who paid the prison for their use. Under this slave-like contract (prison chain gangs and slaves sometimes worked side by side) all forms of exploitation and brutality were permitted.

In the 1930's the trade union movement protested the use of prisoners as competition with "free labor" and the frequent company tactic of using prisoners to break strikes. Sellout labor leaders made a deal: contract prison labor would be outlawed and instead the prisons themselves would set up industrial and agricultural facilities whose products could only be sold to the government. In exchange the unions agreed to stay away from the prisons, to cut ties with workers behind bars and to remain deaf and blind to the exploitation perpetrated inside. Today ex-prisoners are not admitted into most labor unions. The worst of the union leadership itself became a sponsor of the prison system. George Meany is one of six men who sit on the Board of Prison Industries, Inc., a government-owned corporation which runs prison labor in the federal prisons.

Inmates today perform about 70% of the jobs of institutional maintenance. Except for a few supervisory personnel, inmates run the laundries, the kitchens, the offices, repair shops, just about everything that keeps the prisons functioning. In addition 25% of federal prisoners and a higher percentage of state prisoners (up to 70% in some states) work in prison industries where they produce furniture, clothing, shoes, canned goods, electrical equipment to sell to the government. (6)

In 1970 the federal prison industries cleared \$11 million in profits. (7) These profits are hidden: the figure is secret for most state prison systems. A clue to the scale of profit comes from the 1966

Arkansas figure: gains from prison industries exceeded the entire prison budget by \$300,000. (8)

The source of these profits is super-exploited human labor. Most institutional maintenance jobs don't pay anything, and jobs in prison industries pay from the usual 2¢ to 6¢ an hour to 25¢ for federal prisoners.

Prison administrators hush up the profit aspect of inmate labor with the lie that prison work reforms the prisoner, teaches good work habits and trains and rehabilitates prisoners for jobs on the outside. Prison industries, guaranteed a market for their products by the government, have equipment which is outdated, inefficient and unsafe. Some prison products, like license plates which are produced in almost every men's prison, are a prison monopoly. Prison-taught skills are often useless. You won't find work making license plates on the outside.

#### BREAKING THE SPIRIT/ REPRESSION INSIDE

Sensational media and self-serving government statements exaggerate the violence of prisoner against prisoner. Prisoners are people -- the system inside is inhuman. Basic necessities are treated as privileges to be granted at the discretion of the administration. Overcrowding is standard procedure. Nothing can be taken for granted -- decent food, visitors, receiving books or mail, exercise and showers -- or the right to defend oneself or another prisoner against attacks by guards. Parole or graduation to a minimum security prison depends on submission, while 24-hour lock-up, the adjustment center and the hole (24-hour a day dark strip cells) are punishment for any spark of resistance.



Inmates on a southern prison farm.

Eugene Richards





Life at Attica: each inmate spends 14 to 16 hours a day alone in his 6x9 foot cell, which contains a bed, a stool, a small table, a two-drawer metal cabinet, a naked light bulb, earphones for the radio system, a toilet, and a cold-water sink.

The spectre of masses of prisoners uniting against the handful of guards who control them haunts the prison system. The prison administration uses every trick in the book to divide prisoners -- competition, racism, sexism. Good time for one means revocation of privileges for another; a job for one means the hole for a brother; they tell a white prisoner to inform on a Black prisoner or lose her own visiting privileges for a month, then throw the Black prisoner in the hole for fighting back. Rebellion has a high cost -- gassing, beatings, lock-ups. Hundreds of inmates die in prison every year, and no one dies from old age. (9)

As prisoners fight back and organize, the prison system retaliates by seeking more elaborate and effective methods for crushing rebellious prisoners. Adjustment centers, where prisoners are locked up 23½ hours a day and fed small tasteless rations, special prisons like the federal prison in Marion, Illinois and the new \$13.5 million state prison in Butner, N.C. specialize in behavior modification. You enter the institution, usually involuntarily, but sometimes on the promise of special privileges -- minimum security or a

TV. You enter at the lowest of many levels: no privileges, special isolation cell, tranquilizers. Your behavior and attitude are watched and tested, especially your response to random gassing and beating. If the officials find you sufficiently cooperative in time you can move to a higher level: a better cell, maybe an hour a day outside, but still a few levels away from receiving visitors or mail. Prisoners who reach higher levels can get knocked down, and are subject to more drugs, and denied even food and water. These methods are used in women's prisons with an emphasis on the use of drugs. Women in California Institution for Women have been fighting the use of prolixin, which slowly destroys brain cells -- "to increase passivity" -- and drugs which relax muscles to the point where the victim stops breathing for two or three minutes, experiencing the sensation of total suffocation. In 1973 women in CIW successfully forced prison officials to abandon a new behavior modification program that would have subjected "problem women" to "attack therapy" -- forced snitching on other women -- two or three times a day.



Women's Press / LNS

## WOMEN LOCKED UP



There are more than 15,000 women in state and federal prison. Women comprise only 5% of sentenced state and federal prisoners. Not included in these statistics are the thousands of women thrown into local and county jails for prostitution, vagrancy or drunkenness. Other less obvious but equally destructive controls are used against women; women make up approximately 50% of patients hospitalized on the wards of State mental asylums. (US census) Moreover, judges are now tending to sentence women to prison more and more, and new prisons are being built for women inmates.

Women who are arrested risk having their children incarcerated in state institutions for days and weeks, and often lose their children to these institutions permanently. Women locked up have no say where their children will go. Last summer Black Liberation Army prisoner Assata Shakur gave birth to a daughter in prison. Only under pressure from Assata and women's demonstrations outside was she allowed a non-prison doctor whom she could trust. The day after she gave birth her baby was taken from her and she was severely beaten by guards. Marilyn Buck is being held in solitary confinement at Alderson, W. Va. federal prison. Women political prisoners are isolated from the prison population and from communication outside.

Women prisoners have even less access than men to paying jobs and education. Books are hard to get but contraband drugs can be purchased at any time from the guards. Women are humiliated by body searches and are prey to racist and sexual assaults as Joann Little's case demonstrates.

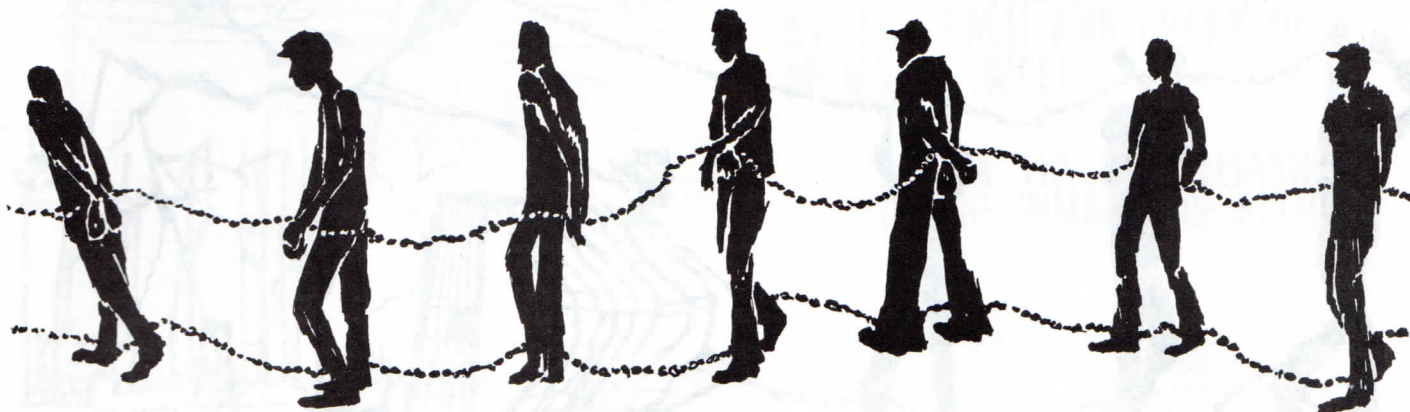
Women's prisons are systematically depoliticized and defused by tranquilizers and insulation from the outside. But women at Bedford Hills, N.Y., California Institute for Women and Alderson, W. Va. federal women's prison have organized and taken action to improve their conditions. One woman in CIW writes: "We are in prison now. There are many of us who are becoming stronger every day and more conscious. And more each day."

PAROLE

Full cooperation -- "good time" -- can get a prisoner out on parole before his or her time is served. A bad report by guards can keep a prisoner in for extra years. In states like California which give "indeterminate sentences", prisoners can be sentenced to six months to ten years or one year to life. George Jackson got one to life for a \$70 robbery. He had been in for 11 years when he was murdered by prison guards in 1971. The majority of prisoners of California are serving indeterminate sentences, completely at the mercy of prison administrations, and only the active counter-offensive by the prison movement is braking the trend toward indeterminate sentences nation-wide.

An estimated 300,000 people were on

parole in 1972.(10) Parole is the system of close supervision of a released prisoner for the remainder of the prisoner's sentence -- it may be for life. Any violation returns you to prison -- and between 50% and 75% of all prisoners return.(11) When the guards say goodbye they assure you they will see you again. Many parolees are returned to prison on technical violations which include anything the overwhelmingly white, male parole board officers don't approve of -- less than 2% of those who come back are returned for crimes involving violence.(12) These violations range from trivial things like driving an improperly registered car to the exercising of civil rights such as interracial relationships and marriages, different lifestyles, all forms of radical political activity and any public criticism of the prison system.





## THE PRISON STRUGGLE

"You can jail a revolutionary, but  
you can't jail the revolution!"

Fred Hampton

The job of revolutionaries is to forge a working class conscious of itself as a whole, fighting in the interests of the whole. The definition of prisoners as "lumpen" leads either to reading prisoners out of the class struggle or to romanticizing people behind bars as a super-revolutionary force alone in deadly combat with the enemy. The Communist Manifesto defines lumpen as

The "dangerous class", the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of the old society, may here and there be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

There are unquestionably some prisoners who exist outside the working class and outside of the process of production. They are those who live by ripping off members of their own communities, like heroin dealers and the lower echelons of organized crime. There are some prisoners who have been wasted by alcohol or drugs, and whose alienation takes the form of anti-human violence. But these people do not make up a majority of prisoners by any means. The great majority of prisoners belong to the part of the working class comprising the reserve army of labor. Prisoners are whole people. Black mothers, teenagers, unemployed young men face the possibility of running afoul of the law and landing in jail. Prisoners have the same aspirations and potential, problems and hopes as working-class people on the outside. The prison struggle must see itself as part of the working class struggle; the prison struggle must be seen as a key part of our movement and one that is currently providing much leadership.

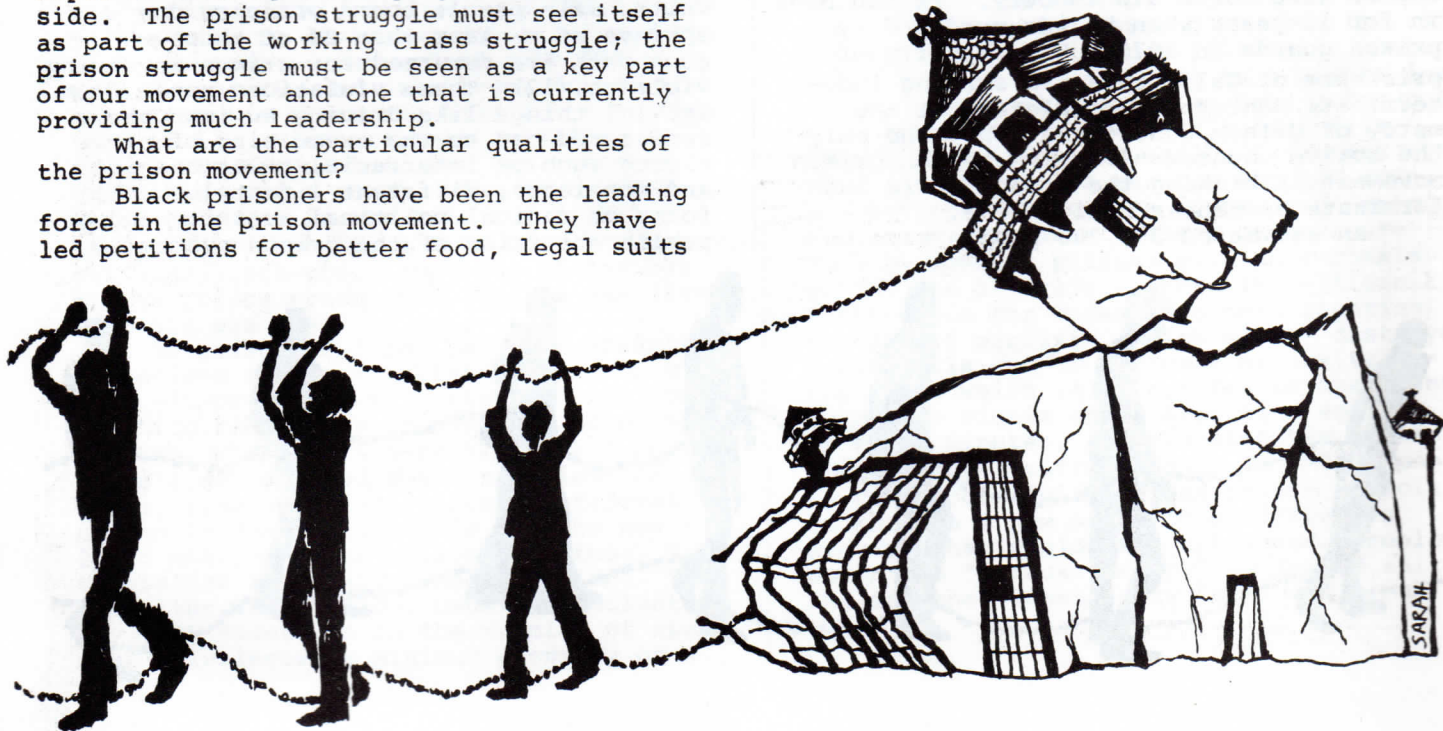
What are the particular qualities of the prison movement?

Black prisoners have been the leading force in the prison movement. They have led petitions for better food, legal suits

against torture, hunger strikes, work stoppages. Black prisoners have analyzed the social roots of crime, and politicized and educated on the inside. The writing and political thought coming out of prison today represents some of the best ideological struggle in our movement.

Black prisoners have led the fight for unity among all prisoners. By exposing racism, Black prisoners have raised demands in the interests of all prisoners. At Attica the racist brutality of guards, officials and parole boards was rampant. Prisoners explained and organized against these conditions. During the rebellion L.D. Barkley, Brother Richard Clark, Big Black and others spoke for all the prisoners. The high level of struggle waged by Black and other Third World prisoners means that white prisoners define themselves from the start by the position they take on racism -- whether they are complicit with the daily racist maneuvers of the administration or join the fight against them.

Daily life in prison put you in constant confrontation against the full naked armed force of the system. Outside this force is usually veiled. In prison the stakes of the struggle, even for small gains, are high. In the effort to survive and organize with dignity, prisoners are left only with the strength of their bodies, intellects, and spirits. Martin Sostre's several-year battle against submission to rectal searches and to keep his beard was a struggle to control his own life. The growing number of struggles against overcrowding, for access to books, to classes, for the right to organize and control labor power reflected in prison unions and work strikes, are important. They are resistance by prisoners to systematic terror and exploitation.





The prison movement has devised many militant forms of resistance, from individual non-collaboration to escape, from burning down and occupying prisons to seizing guards. The ideological contribution of prisoners -- internationalism, uncompromising militancy, the understanding that there can be no successful revolution without armed struggle -- has challenged the whole movement.

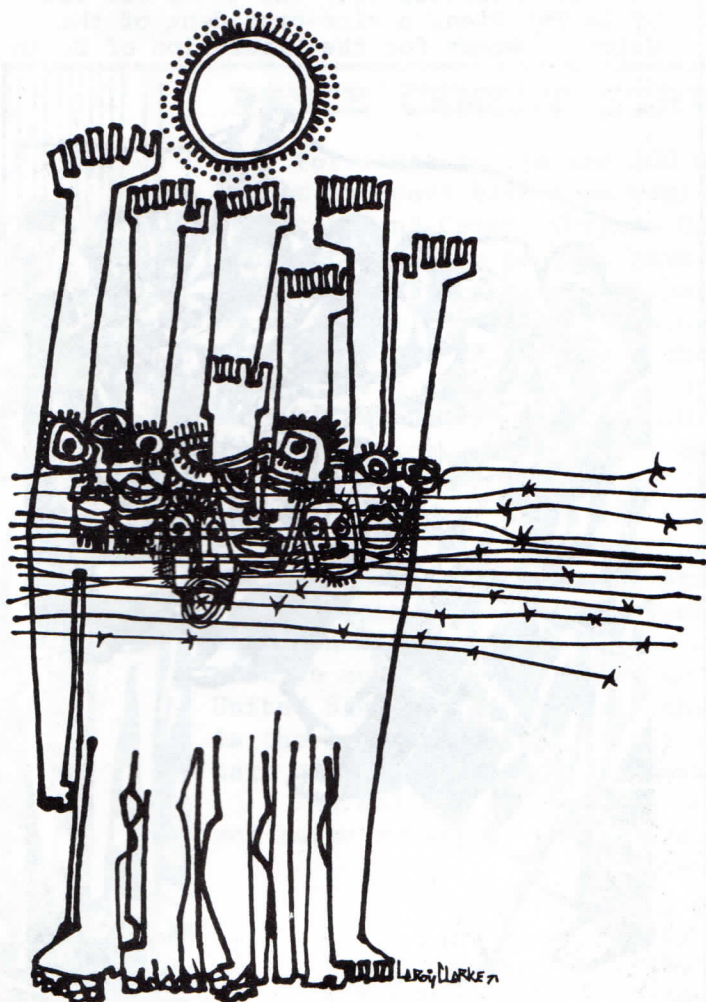
Only organization reaching across the bars can enable released prison activists to fully enter the revolutionary movement on the outside. For the good of the movement inside and for the good of the movement outside, we need to develop political struggle and mutual support that breaks through prison barriers. The prison struggle is our struggle. Attica is all of us.

Our program must be to organize for the demands of the prison movement -- to end behavior modification, fascist practices and overcrowding, to make the judicial system answerable to the community, to win the right to organize, to win decent living conditions, the right to books, mail and visitors, the right to raise children. We must build a movement that includes pris-

oners -- whether it is a rank and file union movement across prison bars or a women's movement that includes imprisoned sisters. We must build a movement to free all political prisoners and abolish the prison system.

#### FOOTNOTES

- (1) Uniform Crime Reports for the US, Dept. of Justice, 1974. US Census 1970, Subject Report: Inmates of Institutions.
- (2) US Census 1970, op cit, P. 36.
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) Uniform Crime Reports, op cit, p.116-117.
- (5) Advanced Survey Report on Jails, LEAA, US Dept. of Justice, 1973, p.16. US Census 1970, op cit, p.41.
- (6) Kind and Usual Punishment, Jessica Mitford, Chap. 11.
- (7) Federal Prison Industries, Ind., Annual Report to Congress by the Board of Directors, 1970.
- (8) State study quoted by Goldfarb and Singer in After Conviction, 1973, p.393.
- (9) US Census 1970, op cit.
- (10) American Correctional Assoc., 103rd Congress, 1972, p.43.
- (11) Mitford, op cit; Crime in America, Ramsey Clark, 9 1972.
- (12) Mitford, op cit.



WE ARE MEN! WE ARE NOT  
BEASTS AND DO NOT INTEND TO BE  
BEATEN OR DRIVEN AS SUCH...WHAT  
HAS HAPPENED HERE IS BUT THE  
SOUND BEFORE THE FURY OF  
THOSE WHO ARE OPPRESSED...

WE CALL UPON ALL THE  
CONSCIENTIOUS CITIZENS OF AMER-  
ICA TO ASSIST US IN PUTTING  
AN END TO THIS SITUATION THAT  
THREATENS THE LIVES OF NOT ONLY  
US, BUT EACH AND EVERY ONE  
OF US AS WELL.

-FROM THE FIVE DEMANDS  
OF THE INMATES OF ATTICA



## REVIEW: THREE BOOKS ABOUT WOMEN

**GORILLA, MY LOVE** by Toni Cade Bambara  
Pocket Books, 1973, \$1.25

These short stories about women -- about Black women-- will take your breath away: hard-hitting, no-nonsense blasts that explode in your brain and your stomach and capture your heart. They crawl inside Hazel Peoples, 60, getting dressed down by her three kids in the kitchen at a benefit party for belly-rubbing with the neighborhood blind man who fixes skates and toasters and bicycles. Or Squeaky, aka Mercury, young girl runner catching her competitor's eye at the end of the May Day 50-yard dash:

"We stand there with this big smile of respect between us. It's about as real a smile as girls can do for each other, considering we don't practice real smiling every day, you know, cause maybe we too busy being flowers or fairies or strawberries instead of something honest and worthy of respect..."

Just when you're feeling comfortable with the tough warmth and the humor of these stories, along comes *The Survivor* or the Johnson Girls to put you on notice that Blackwomenpeople dream and go mad, lose themselves in childbirth and are trying to get straight with one another -- and that Toni Cade Bambara is a master writer.



**WOMEN OF VIETNAM** by Arlene Eisen Bergman  
Peoples Press, 1974, \$2.65

Minh Khai grew up in Vietnam with the Confucian teaching: "One hundred women are not worth a single testicle." In 1930, she and other young women who were founding members of the Indochinese Communist Party formed the Vietnam Women's Union. Their demands were:

Reduce rents and interest rates!  
Equal wages for equal work!  
No dangerous work for women!  
Two months fully paid maternity leave!  
Down with forced marriage!  
Down with polygamy!  
Abolish the habit of holding women in contempt!

Today the descendants of the Union founded by Minh Khai are the Vietnam Women's Union with millions of active members in the North and the Union of Women for the Liberation of South Vietnam with several million members in the South. *Women of Vietnam* includes a study of the violence unleashed against the women of Vietnam by US imperialism: systematic rape, attacks on future generations, the torture of women. It is also a book of rebellion: beating the drums to build up courage, "speaking bitterness" against cruel landlords, the internal fight against centuries of passivity and humiliation as the "slave of a slave", the long-haired army and the fight against the French and then the American aggressors.

The force that occupied the fortress-like US embassy in Saigon during the Tet Offensive was a women's commando group. They occupied five floors, killed 200 US personnel and forced Ambassador Bunker to flee in a helicopter. The group was led by Le Thi Rien, a vice-president of the Union of Women for the Liberation of South





Vietnam, and a member of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front. She was executed in the early morning of February 1st, 1968. With the conviction that their production served to strengthen the anti-US war effort, women in one Northern province alone worked 44,392 extra work days to avenge her murder.

*Women of Vietnam* is lovingly written, illustrated and produced -- full of poems and folksongs, faces and stories of Vietnamese women and their struggle for liberation. It is a challenge to revolutionaries about the importance of the emancipation of women to the struggle for revolution. It is a challenge to women about the integral relationship between socialism and the equality of women. "Revolution is our way of liberation." It is a book for everyone to read -- to be used in teaching, to be read out loud, read to young girls and given to old women. It is another gift from the Vietnamese, beautifully woven together by the author. Expect the new post-liberation edition soon.



**DAUGHTER OF EARTH** by Agnes Smedley  
Feminist Press, 1973, \$2.50

This is a book to treasure; a book rescued from the past. The life and work of Agnes Smedley has suffered an enforced oblivion like many of her class and sex, and perhaps especially because of her role in support of the Chinese revolution since 1938. Thanks to the Feminist Press reprint of this strongly autobiographical novel of her youth, we now have a story of her working-class roots and the stifling oppression of ceaseless poverty.

It is a desperate book: determined to escape her mother's destiny, she steels herself against love and family. Breaking through the barriers that confine and enslave her leads her from miner's daughter, washerwoman, cigar-maker, writer, to revolutionary activist. This is a piece of American history and of the left -- and its ill-treatment of women -- told like it is by a woman who refused to be betrayed. It is haunting. "I write of the joys and sorrows of the lowly. Of loneliness. Of pain. And of love... I belong to those who die... exhausted by poverty, victims of wealth and power, fighters in a great cause."

## PONCE CEMENT STRIKERS NEED YOUR SUPPORT

For eight months the 500 workers and their families at Puerto Rican Cement in Ponce have been waging a courageous and important strike. The Operators and Cement Workers Union went on strike in January after the company cut hard-won pension payments and a medical plan. The strikers demand restoration of the cuts, higher wages, an end to forced overtime (up to 80 hours a week), a cost of living clause and better working conditions. The gigantic Ferré Enterprises, the company of former colonial governor Luis Ferré, which owns Puerto Rican Cement, has answered with arrests and beatings of union members, AFL-CIO strike breakers and thugs, FBI intimidation and redbaiting. Now the bosses hope to starve out the workers.

For all of us who are dedicated to creating a fighting workers movement, and for all of us who have rallied for the independence of Puerto Rico, now is the time to support this militant union struggle. Victory for the Puerto Rican cement strike will strengthen the non-US controlled Puerto Rican trade union movement. Eight months on strike has used up the economic resources of the union. Efraín Fernández, union president, said in an open letter, "We need economic help from the workers in the United States. We want all the workers to know about our struggle which is the same as theirs. After all, we are fighting only to get a small part of the product of our work."

Ten dollars a week will sustain one worker on strike. Contribute and raise money for the strikers and send it to:

Cement Workers Union  
c/o MOU  
Ave. Fernandez Juncos 1407  
Pda. 20  
Santurce, Puerto Rico





# FIGHTING FO

Excerpts from the original letter proposing the film:

## EMILE de ANTONIO

Your publication (Prairie Fire) is very good. However, it seems to me that much of the world you want to reach is unaware of connections. Print simply doesn't reach the number of people that a well-made film can reach. Your outgoing gesture in the publication is not only first rate but could be the beginning of the recognition that there can and do exist on the left different kinds of people who serve different functions, some who can move openly, some secretly...

I see a film of TV length to reach millions of people. It is perfectly feasible to make such a film. The film should probably have five or six speakers. Each speaker should take a segment or major theme of the publication. One theme: why? why did you happen and what is your history? Another theme, hiding out and functioning in the USA over five years. One voice should be about where you are now - I don't mean physically but politically... it should be didactic in the sense that it should open eyes and point directions for others without compromising you. I do think one voice should talk about inflation... the film should also discuss violence, the different kinds. whose violence? and against whom? you are not actors and yet the film should have enough excitement in it that people looking at it would want to identify and think about undergrounds of the past.

There exists not only not enough information about you in a coherent way related to actions but even more important the 60s, the spirit of the 60s is dying. There exists a leadership and programmatic vacuum. The people have not yet sensed that Ford is worse than Nixon because the good guy Michigan University center comes through... a hundred subjects suggest themselves that need to be brought to people. I personally think the situation right now when most people assume it's quiescent has more radical potential than the 60s. ...we are a police state. Our TV demonstrates this every night, a corrupt police state and you people are living in it and out of it, you have created a masterpiece of political theatre which not only reveals the police state but that it is possible to beat it, and it belongs on film...

d.

The future  
what we  
struggle

This quilt, made  
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# OUR FILM

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Letter from the WUO to the filmmakers:

Dear Friends:

October 1, 1975

We hope that you have been well since we did the filming together and that you are happy with the progress of the film. Your resistance and principled stand of non-collaboration with the Los Angeles Federal Grand Jury that tried to stop this film was exemplary. We are all the more certain that our work together will make an important contribution.

We are writing to you for a specific purpose. Many people have asked us how they can show their support for you in your struggle against the Justice Department, FBI and CIA, and for the WUO. We would like you to consider the following idea: that the film be released in several simultaneous benefit showings around the country. People who come to these showings would contribute to a fund that would be evenly divided among these insurgent organizations: Wounded Knee Offense/Defense Committee, Attica Brothers legal defense, Ruchell Magee, the Puerto Rican Cement Workers strike fund, the San Quentin Six, and the Bach Mai Hospital fund. The benefits would be a way to show support for your struggle to make the film and to support the WUO. This would also be a way for us to contribute directly to the struggles of movements fighting serious attacks from the government.

It is a mark of respect for you and a good sign that you received such strong support from within the movie industry for your right to make this film. Your refusal to cooperate and the widespread support that refusal mobilized forced the government to back down. The legacy of the capitulation of the film industry to McCarthyism in the 1950s was turned around. Our days together were a high point for us and we hope for you. We are looking forward to seeing the film when it comes out.

Venceremos!

Jeff Jones



## WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION BOMBS KENNECOTT CORPORATION



SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
September 4, 1975

José Venturilli

On the second anniversary of the fascist coup in Chile, we attacked the national headquarters of Kennecott Corporation in Salt Lake City, Utah, in solidarity with the heroic resistance of the Chilean people. We attacked Kennecott for all the years it has robbed the Chilean people of their copper and wealth, for its role in the overthrow of the Popular Unity government and the murder of Salvador Allende, and for its oppression and exploitation of working people in the US.

Kennecott, Anaconda and ITT share responsibility with Kissinger and the CIA for the overthrow of the democratically-elected Popular Unity government. Kennecott and Anaconda organized for an international boycott of Chile's copper and simultaneously forced the price of copper down 20%, bringing crisis and suffering to the people of Chile and undermining the economy. Kennecott continues to drain wealth from the Chilean people. Kennecott is now receiving \$68 million from the military dictatorship in "compensation" for the nationalization of its mines. This on top of more than \$4 billion in copper profits which Kennecott and Anaconda together mined out over a 40-year period.

Dictatorship in Chile could not survive without aid from the United States. This year the Ford administration is giving Chile \$165 million in aid. This aid goes to a junta which rules by force and terror. Over 40,000 people have been murdered by the counter-revolution, including Miguel Enriquez, the leader of the underground revolutionary party MIR. A former Nazi SS colonel, Walter Rauf, advises the junta's secret police. The working class has been the most strongly repressed. The junta abolished the workers' Central Labor Federation, wages are strictly controlled, and the right to strike has been outlawed. Many labor leaders have been killed or imprisoned, including the militant miners from the El Teniente copper mine.

The Chilean people are part of the struggle against the same imperialists who oppress mineworkers and other workers here in the US. In 1967 a strike at all four US divisions of Kennecott was maintained for 8½ months. Kennecott fought the strike by increasing the production and import of copper from Chile. The striking workers understood how Kennecott's international holdings weakened their own struggle. When Kennecott's mines were nationalized by the Allende government, it actually strengthened the workers in their struggle here and helped build international class solidarity. There have been seven strikes in the US against Kennecott in the last 25 years. This summer Kennecott laid off 2100 of its 12,500 workers and closed many of its mines. In the fall it plans to re-open at only 60% capacity. This is Kennecott's strategy both to keep prices and profits high by limiting supply and to intimidate labor militancy by threatening workers' jobs.

In Chile the resistance to the junta continues. Clandestine committees organize sabotage, lead strikes, distribute propaganda, share news and information. The struggle of the Chilean people and the international solidarity movement will determine the outcome in Chile.

**STOP US AID TO THE JUNTA!  
THE RESISTANCE IN CHILE WILL WIN!  
LA RESISTENCIA CHILENA TRIUNFARA!**



## DEFEND THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

There is a war going on in Portugal between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. Freed from the chains of 50 years of fascism, the Portuguese people have mobilized. The working class is taking history into its own hands, fighting to transform Portuguese life and confronting all the reactionary forces -- the old fascists, the rising capitalists, the Catholic Church, the CIA and the Socialist Party. Power struggles now taking place in Lisbon reflect the class struggle in the country as a whole. Defending the revolutionary process is the central task in Portugal today; the memory of the Chilean coup is fresh in people's minds.

The US is trying to destroy the Portuguese revolution. As in Chile during the Popular Unity government, the strategy is to "destabilize" the situation and finance coup attempts. Multinational corporations like ITT, Hertz, and Timex have closed down or cut back, causing unemployment. US Ambassador Frank Carlucci is an old CIA hand, a specialist in counter-insurgency. He was in the Congo when Lumumba was murdered and in Brazil from 1965-69 when the military dictatorship carried out vicious repression of leftists.

CIA activity has ranged from subverting trade unions, to working with the Portuguese Liberation Army, a terrorist group which led recent anti-communist riots and sabotage. The CIA is using its pre-coup contacts in the military to promote right-wing elements and isolate the left within the Armed Forces Movement (AFM). It is also sponsoring a pro-US independence movement in the Portuguese Azores, aiding rightist forces in Angola (the FNLA), and financing the Portuguese Socialist Party, a leading anti-communist force.

Fascist Portugal, the poorest country in Europe, was dominated by England and other West European countries, kept underdeveloped as a source of cheap labor and agricultural products for multinational corporations. Portugal's ruling class was a feudal alliance of landed aristocracy and the Catholic Church, kept in power by a fascist regime as terrifying as Hitler's Germany or Pinochet's Chile. Portugal's average per capita income was \$720; 40% of adults could not read. Although Portugal controlled three colonies in Africa -- Guiné-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola -- the colonies' richest resources were exploited by more advanced imperialist countries. Portugal got its share from cash crops, forced labor and protected markets. As the African struggles advanced, Portugal was forced to spend half its budget on the military. This drain on Portugal's resources was a factor pushing the AFM to depose the

Caetano dictatorship.

The African liberation struggles against Portuguese rule created the conditions for the successful overthrow of Portuguese fascism. Blood spilled by African liberation fighters was part of the price of freedom in Portugal. The AFM brought the wars home when it toppled Caetano on April 25, 1974.

The middle-level officers who made up the core of the AFM knew that Portugal was losing the wars in Africa. Four days before the coup, FRELIMO had cut the main road linking Mozambique's capital and main port. The soldiers were asking why.

Many of them saw that they were fighting against truly popular struggles. Portuguese soldiers taken prisoner by the liberation movements were introduced to the achievements in the liberated zones and taught the movements' goals. African prisoners often gave a first political education to their Portuguese captors, many of whom saw the similarities between conditions in Portugal and in the colonies. The

SOUTHERN AFRICA



CAPTURED PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS IN MOZAMBIQUE ARE MARCHED TO A FRELIMO BASE



## THE CIA IN PORTUGAL

Philip Agee, a former CIA agent who exposed CIA activities in his book CIA Diary, wrote an "open letter to the Portuguese people." Here are some excerpts:

"I see the signs daily. These counter-revolutionary activities are similar to what I did in the CIA for more than ten years. I send this as part of a continuing effort by many Americans to end imperialist intervention and support to repression by the US government."

"The size of the overall US government mission in Portugal is shocking, especially its heavy dominance by military personnel. Of the (160) Americans, 105 are military personnel... Of the approximately 50 American civilians in the mission, about ten, I believe, are employees of the CIA. No less than ten additional CIA functionaries are probably working in Lisbon and other cities, having been assigned ostensibly for temporary duties..."

"The US military schools have trained over 3000 Portuguese military personnel since 1950. Detailed files have been accumulated on every one of them -- their personalities, politics, likes and dislikes, strengths, weaknesses and vulnerabilities. Many of these will have already been selected as contacts to be developed within the Portuguese military establishment..."

"The CIA may have intervened in the recent electoral campaign to assure that the results would "prove" that the majority of Portuguese favor a more "moderate" pace for the revolution. James Lawler, the CIA deputy chief in Lisbon, engaged in just such operations in Brazil (in 1962) and in Chile (in 1964) where many millions of dollars were spent by the CIA to promote the election of US-approved "moderates".

"The CIA is also using the Roman Catholic Church for its ends. Recently a reliable source in Washington told me that large amounts of money are going from the US to the Catholic Church for combating the revolution in Portugal."

"Propaganda campaigns are central for all important CIA political operations... the CIA must continue to aid -- in every possible way -- the efforts of "moderate" political forces to establish and maintain media outlets that the CIA can use for placing its materials."

"Private investment credits can be frozen, trading contracts delayed and cancelled and unemployment increased, while imperialist propaganda will place the blame on workers' demands and the government's weakness rather than on lending institutions and their deliberate policies of credit retention. The effects of these programs in Chile during the Allende administration are known to all."

officer corps -- once the reserve of the children of the aristocracy -- was depleted in battle and was filled out with drafted students who were resentful of the draft and familiar with radical ideas. All these conditions combined to produce the few hundred officers who first formed the AFM. Their original goals were to overthrow Caetano in order to free the colonies, restore democratic freedoms and end fascist rule.

At first, the AFM formed an uneasy alliance with General Antonio Spínola -- who became Portugal's new President. Spínola, known as "The Butcher of Guiné-Bissau" for his role commanding Portuguese forces there, had written a book attacking the colonial wars and proposing a neocolonial solution in Africa. He represented the rising capitalist class who challenged the ruling aristocracy in order to create room for capitalist expansion and modernization.

But the revolution quickly pushed Spínola aside. Workers began to exercise the new freedoms guaranteed by the AFM. Red carnations -- the symbol of Portugal's revolution -- bloomed all over the country. Mass movements began to purge fascists from positions of power. Only three days after the coup 700 sailors met to oust 82 fascist officers. The unity of the workers and the AFM grew stronger as the struggle moved forward.

BIG FLAME



IN A STEEL PLANT: THE SLOGAN SAYS "OUT WITH THE FASCISTS"

Spínola fought back, calling a rally for September 28th, timed to coincide with a coup by fascists from the old regime. Armed workers and left groups set up roadblocks to stop the fascists and their weapons from entering Lisbon. Pushed by the workers and the militant left, the AFM banned the right-wing rally and arrested dozens of plotters. The defeat of the fascist coup attempt was a lesson in the class struggle for the masses of people: capitalists won't give up a shred of



power without a fight.

Another coup attempt on March 11th was also crushed quickly, producing a mighty tide of workers' action. Bank clerks seized the banks to prevent withdrawals by the fleeing rightists, and then demanded and won nationalization of the banks. Unoccupied villas were taken over for the people's use and great estates became new housing for poor workers and peasants.

The working class became the motor of the Portuguese revolution -- defending the revolution from all capitalist attempts to undermine it. The cooperation of the AFM, the workers movement and organized left groups increased after March, and the slogan AFM-POVO, POVO-AFM (Povo means "common people") took on new meaning. On the first anniversary of the overthrow of fascism, the AFM announced that Portugal was on the road to socialism.

BIG FLAME



The class struggle continues in Portugal, with the outcome undecided. The largest force opposing the revolution is the Socialist Party, led by Mario Soares. It is a social-democratic party, not really for socialism, and has close ties to Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt in West Germany and Harold Wilson in England. The Socialist Party is the agent of the class of capitalists who hope for a bourgeois democracy like those in Western Europe. It has allied with the right-wing parties and has

supported the violent attacks on the Portuguese left.

The fascists and the Catholic Church have organized anti-communist mobs to attack Communist Party headquarters in northern Portugal. After 50 years of fascism and the educational guidance of a Church which taught the peasants that "communists eat children", there is a base for opposition to the revolution. In addition, the economic difficulties accompanying the enormous transformation of Portuguese life have made it particularly hard for the small farmers of the north. High costs for farm materials and unreformed marketing practices have meant much suffering for the small farmers, and increased their openness to anti-communist propaganda. The counter-revolution is able to prey on these difficulties.

Many left groups have shown solidarity with the Communist Party in the face of the attacks. An anti-fascist front formed which included the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) and the League of Revolutionary Unity and Action (LUAR), groups which helped mobilize recent workers' struggles and which waged armed struggle against the fascist dictatorship. The Socialist Party stood aside, allying with the fascist upsurge, hoping to inherit the reigns of power.

\* \* \*

Portugal's revolution has already resulted in great achievements: granting independence to the African colonies, nationalizing over half of the Portuguese economy, beginning agrarian reform, doubling the minimum wage, granting open admission to all universities.

The revolutionary forces in Portugal are now under steady and growing attack. Reactionaries are moving fast to turn back the clock, reverse the socialist direction, and crush the hopeful possibilities of the future. This is a time to expose US subversion, counter media lies with the truth and show full support for the continuing struggle of the Portuguese workers, soldiers and popular movement.

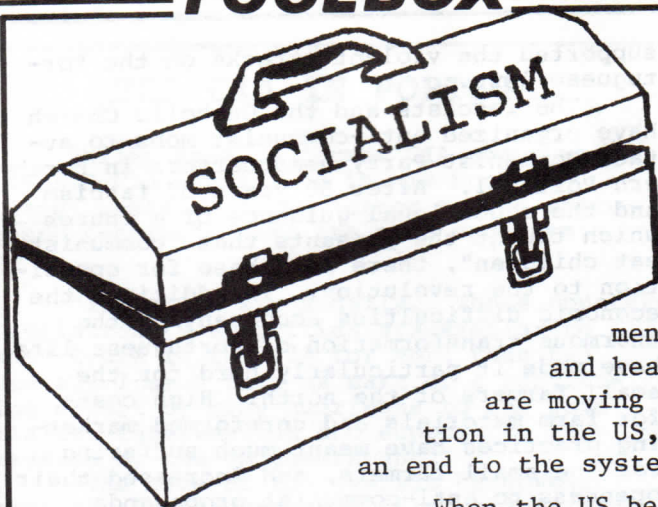
LOTTA CONTINUA / LNS



"ON WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS"



# TOOLBOX



Socialism is what the people need. Look around. Lousy housing, food too expensive to buy, health services beyond the reach of most of us. This is no way to live. Capitalism has outlived its usefulness. While hard times grip every capitalist country, the socialist nations are moving forward: there is no unemployment in the socialist world, there is housing and health care and food for everyone, and prices are moving steadily down. There's hunger and starvation in the US, but not in Cuba or China. Socialism means an end to the system of private wealth and public poverty.

When the US becomes a socialist country, power will be in the hands of the working class, the overwhelming majority of people. The working people will own and manage the factories, hospitals, schools and food stores -- everything -- for the benefit of the whole community. Instead of having our labor stolen from us, the work we do will produce a decent and humane society. And productive work will exist for all.

The working class will no longer be thrown into terrible imperialist wars waged for the sake of profits. The steel used to make bomber planes and engines of war will be used to construct bridges or to create public transportation in our cities. Workers will finally work in safe conditions because the god of profit will at last be dethroned.

Revolution is the path to socialism. The capitalists are fighting to stay on top, and the working class will have to organize to topple them.

Socialism puts human beings -- their needs and hopes and dreams -- at the center of things. Socialist values are collective and communal. Socialism is the rejection of the old and rotten values: individualism, elitism, sexism. Socialism requires the rejection of racism. Socialism means social responsibility, love for each sister or brother in the whole of humanity, the realization of self in relation to others.

Socialism will unleash amazing human creativity. Our cities will become human gardens. The competitiveness, fear and anxiety holding people back from becoming new women and men is a result of capitalism, not human nature. Look at the faces of the children of Vietnam and you will see the promise of the future.



In a society ruled by the exploiting class only the individual interests of a few people belonging to this class are met, whereas those of the toiling masses are trampled underfoot. But in the socialist and communist systems, of which the laboring people are the masters, each man is a part of the collective, plays a definite role in it and contributes his part to society. That is why the interests of the individual lies within those of the collective and are part of them. Only when the latter are secured can the former be satisfied.

Ho Chi Minh  
Revolutionary Morality



# BOSTON: THE BATTLE RAGES

## More on ROAR

by Joe Reed

This article, a sequel to The Battle of Boston in the first issue of Osawatomie, was written on September 7th, the day before schools opened in Boston.

The Cradle of Liberty: Boston -- Where It All Began. Bicentennial billboards designed to numb the reality of depression and crisis, of welfare cuts and hunger, of layoffs and rent increases. Patriotic slogans of a war against the British aimed at disguising the ugly war against Black people in Boston, 1975.

A few steps off the Freedom Trail puts you in East Boston, where over the summer Black and Puerto Rican families have been attacked and firebombed in their homes by racist youths lobbing molotovs and cheering while the apartments burned. Or into Hyde Park, where a Black family's home is spray-painted with swastikas and KKK signs and a cross is left burning on their lawn. Or to Carson Beach in South Boston where Black people have been physically attacked by crowds of whites for trying to swim at a public beach.

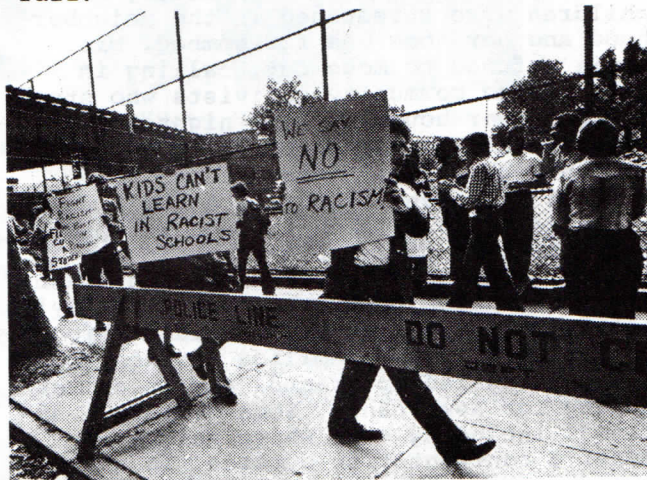
Spearheading the attacks is ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the leader of the Boston "anti-busing" movement. In the first issue of Osawatomie, we revealed that members of the Weather Underground Organization had secretly attended weekly ROAR meetings in the chambers of Boston's City Council. We showed that racism is the core of ROAR's organizing. Not once in all the meetings we attended did ROAR members discuss ways to improve Boston's terrible schools. Not once did ROAR leaders, who include most members of the School Committee and the City Council and many landlords, propose any plans to fight against the depression. ROAR has only one goal: building a racist movement to terrorize Black people, to keep the schools and communities segregated and under their control, and to divert the anger of working-class whites away from their class enemies and toward Black and other Third World people.

ROAR's racism has been exposed by the Black community, by the left and by their own practice. ROAR vigilante groups, which train regularly in South Boston's Marine Park and in Charlestown, have participated in some of the worst attacks on Blacks. The Charlestown group is led by

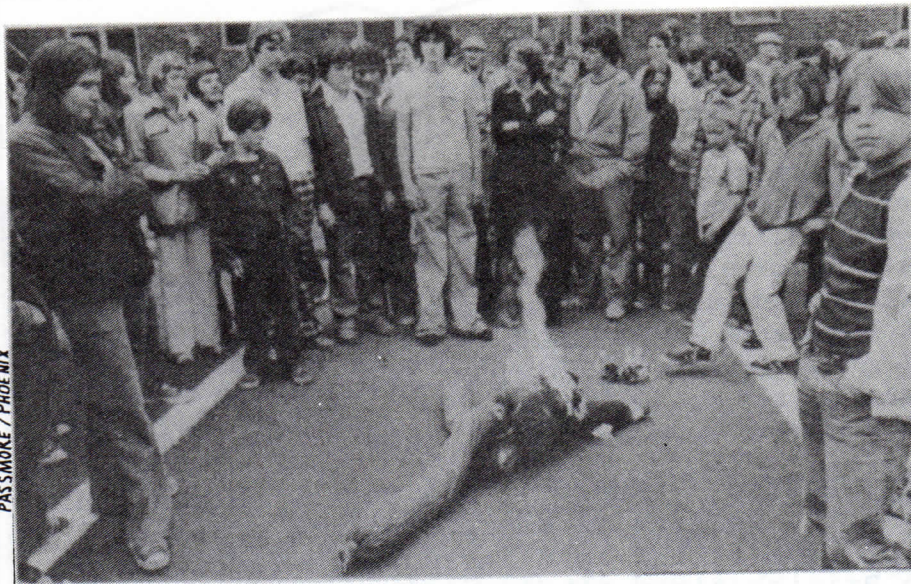
Tommy Johnson, a member of the ROAR goon squad at the meetings we attended.

Open racism and violence have caused splits in ROAR's own ranks. In the last six months, 70 anti-busers left Dorchester's ROAR branch and 21 members of ROAR's East Boston Information Center also quit.

At the same time, ROAR has established itself as a national organization, headed by Boston City Councillor Louise Day Hicks. It has put forward a fascist program called the ABC's: anti-abortion, anti-busing, and anti-communism. ROAR disrupted Boston women's meetings called to support passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. It beat up anti-racist community organizers on Boston's streets. When campaign aides of George Wallace came to Boston looking for allies, ROAR leaders were there to greet them. As another school year opens, with ROAR once again posing as the guardian of the "neighborhood school" and "quality education," activists should continue to expose ROAR terror and prepare to fight back hard this fall.







WRITTEN ON THE EFFIGY: "THIS IS WHAT WE DO TO NIGGERS."

### Two Cities, One Racist Strategy

In Boston, ROAR has conducted an all-out war this summer against the Black and Puerto Rican communities. A few incidents, like the attacks on Black people at Carson Beach, received national publicity. Most, like the violence in East Boston, went unheard and unnoticed outside Boston.

East Boston is one of ROAR's strongholds, an impoverished Italian working-class community. Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, who said at one ROAR meeting that she would gladly ally with the Nazis to oppose busing, heads ROAR's East Boston Information Center. In opposition to ROAR, many community organizers have carried on anti-racist work in the area.

This summer, ROAR organized youth gangs to attempt to drive out the few Black and Puerto Rican families who live in East Boston's Maverick Street housing projects. In late June, attacks began on Mrs. Annie Mae Lewis, a Black resident. Mrs. Lewis had attended a local school board meeting and challenged the racism of some ROAR speakers. Soon after, her children were threatened in the neighborhood and her home was firebombed. Mrs. Lewis refused to move out, calling in friends and community activists who stood guard at her house day and night for a week. More than 100 people from all over Boston took part in this defense.

On the night of August 25th, a gang of white youth stormed through the projects beating up two Black people who were sitting in a playground, then smashing the windows of another Black family's apartment. As the youths marauded through the streets, Black families inside the projects called up friends and relatives asking for assistance. Soon 30 people arrived, including some white neighbors. After a confrontation outside, in which

police arrested one Black man, the Black families and their supporters regrouped in Mrs. Lewis' home. The gang attacked again, busting the screen door and menacing the group with a rifle. Finally the police took action -- invading the Lewis' home and arresting seven people, including Mrs. Lewis! None of the racist gang was arrested.

The battle of East Boston is still raging. ROAR and the police have joined forces to terrorize Black and Puerto Rican residents. But a people's resistance, based in the community and drawing on organizers from all over the city, has fought back with great courage -- refusing to bow to the racist pressure.

In New York, ROAR calls itself Restore Our American Rights. It has centered its attacks on Ormistan Spencer, his wife Gloria, and their three sons -- a Black family who moved into Rosedale, Queens in July, 1974.

On New Year's Eve the Spencers' home was bombed. A note was left which said, "Nigger be warned. We have time. We will get you. Your first born first." It was signed, "Vive Boston KKK." ROAR appeared on the scene on March 29th, demonstrating outside the Spencer home demanding the removal of their 24-hour police protection. That protection was lifted this summer. Cars began to cruise by the house with unidentified men shouting racist slurs and throwing garbage on the front lawn. Mr. Spencer bought a gun for self-defense. One August night, Spencer and his wife came out of their home to confront a mob of 40 ROAR people who had gathered on their lawn. In the scuffle which followed, Spencer's gun went off, injuring him and his wife. The police arrested Spencer, charging him with possession of a dangerous weapon. No ROAR people were arrested.

Rosedale ROAR puts its racism right out front. Here is an excerpt from a ROAR leaflet passed out in Rosedale this summer:

A word to the wise: ROAR located the home of two former Rosedale residents who sold their homes to blacks. We alerted their new neighbors of their selfish actions. If a neighbor of yours sells their home to blacks in a predominantly white area, let us know immediately.

Michael Biggio, a member of ROAR's executive committee who was recently tried and acquitted in the bombing of the Spencer home, described the Rosedale issue clearly: "This is a white community. It's going to stay that way. And we're going to run it."



"Anti-busers" are also organizing in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn to fight the busing of Black and Puerto Rican students into the area's mostly white high schools. Community people and organizers have vigorously confronted the racists, and welcomed the new students. The slogan of the Bensonhurst struggle is "No Boston in Brooklyn."

### Boston: Fighting Back This Fall

The new school year brings Phase 2 of the Boston busing plan. There are serious differences with the plan within the Black, Puerto Rican and Chinese communities and among antiracist whites. Some Black and Puerto Rican parents are now demanding control of their own schools and expansion of bilingual programs. At the same time, there is a fundamental principle which unites all of us: full, unequivocal defense of the right of Black and other Third World people to attend any school in the city without fear, intimidation or attack.

We know ROAR. We know that its plans include vigilante terror as well as open protest. We also know that ROAR's great fear is exposure and widespread opposition. Racist attacks have to be met with militant, visible citywide action. Black people, who have borne the brunt of the attacks, have resisted in a life-and-death struggle for dignity and survival. Rallying to support Mrs. Annie Mae Lewis' defense of her home this summer was an example of how to fight back.

Anti-racism has to be put into practice organizing the working class in Boston. The official unemployment rate in Massachusetts is 14%, and with food and energy prices rising, many families will be hard-pressed to make it through the winter. ROAR offers racist violence as the solution to this crisis. Organizers in working-class communities can isolate ROAR by fighting racism in their day-to-day work, by mobilizing against the rent hikes and budget cuts, by struggling for decent schools, by striking back against the depression. Racism must be challenged and its fascist ROAR silenced.



KRATHWOL/PHOENIX

When 600 people gathered at the Massachusetts State House to oppose the welfare cutbacks, a white welfare mother spoke the truth about ROAR and racism:

"I guess you could call me a classic welfare case. I've been sterilized and subjected to every degradation welfare's got to offer. There is one thing I've learned from coming here today. In Boston, they tell you if you're poor white at least it's better than being Black. But today, poor white and poor Black are up here telling the same poor stories. No difference -- just poor stories. So you remember in the fall when ROAR tells you to throw rocks at Black school kids the poor stories you heard here today."



# FIREWORKS

## KOREA: The First Defeat

The official US Bicentennial is a well-financed ad campaign paid for by the ruling class. The tub-thumping is meant to cover up the real crisis in our society, stirring up feelings of tinny patriotism and nostalgia for a past that never was. People must uncover the true history of this country and take it to our brothers and sisters. The rulers have set the time for the party. Let us bring the Fireworks.

\* \* \*

The US is still officially at war with North Korea. In the aftermath of the victorious Indo-China liberations and the total US defeat, US governmental leaders still have not learned their lesson. They're ready to try it again. Now the key to the elusive Asian victory is a short war. Brutal and overwhelming "first strike capacity" means nuclear weapons against North Korea.

The Vietnam War lasted an eternity. For the two million people who died during the three-year Korean War, it too lasted an eternity. Before we submit to another re-run of these barbaric adventures, let's tell all the people about the first defeat.

The Koreans are an ancient and proud race living on a beautiful Asian peninsula. Korea has been the victim of colonization and imperialist aggression since she was first invaded by the Japanese in the 19th century. The Korean people never stopped their resistance, which from the early 1930's was organized and led by Kim Il Sung and the Korean Communist Party. Japanese rule over Korea ended on August 15, 1945, when the main Japanese forces in Korea were encircled by the Soviet armies. By the time MacArthur's US troops got there on September 8, the Japanese

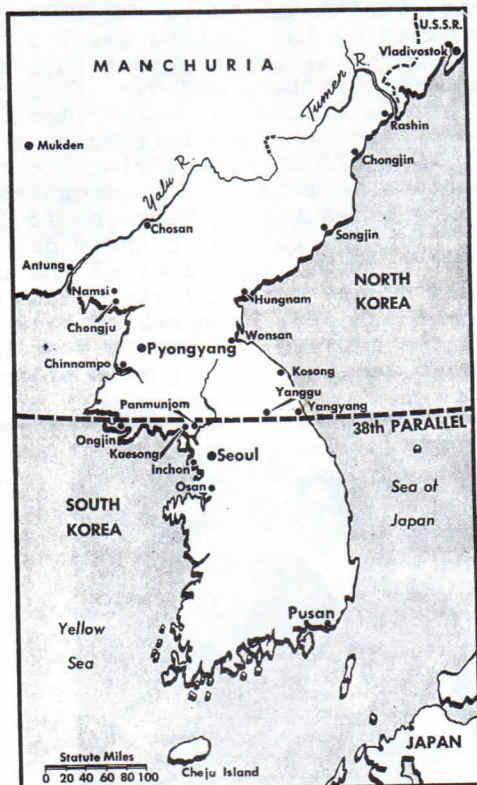
army had been rounded up. People's Committees had taken over the administration. South of the 38th Parallel, the area of US control, the US refused to work with People's Committees, and installed instead a regime which included Korean collaborators with the Japanese, as well as the hated Japanese administrators themselves.

As would happen later in Vietnam, the US sabotaged the national elections, believing that elections would end with an overwhelming communist victory. The UN Temporary Commission on Korea, completely under US control, organized elections in the South which were held in May, 1948. These elections formalized, for the first time in Korean history, a political division into North Korea and South Korea. To this day, the Korean people are fighting to reunify their country. A National Assembly was elected which met the next month. It drafted a constitution and elected a President, Syngman Rhee, recently brought back from Washington, D.C.

Throughout the fall of 1949, Rhee threatened to invade North Korea. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) called for a "peaceful and democratic reunification" but at the same time prepared to defend herself against any invasion.

On May 30, 1950, South Korea held her second national elections, and Rhee's supporters were able to win only 20% of the seats. 25 days later, on the night of

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR. I.E. STONE





June 25, 1950, Republic of Korea (ROK) army units struck north across the 38th Parallel and engaged North Korean forces. The North Koreans answered instantly, crushing the invading forces and then driving south, until six weeks later, the ROK was reduced to a beachhead around Pusan on the southern tip of the peninsula.

On September 10, 1950, General MacArthur staged a Marine invasion at the Port of Inchon near the city of Seoul, behind North Korean lines. North Korean units filtered back North and guerrilla war intensified in the South. MacArthur swept north, taking US troops all the way to the Yalu River, staging bombing raids into Manchuria and the Soviet Union, hoping to create a pretext to launch atomic war against China.

The Yalu River is the boundary between Korea and Manchuria, China. When US troops began to move toward the Yalu, with obvious aggressive intentions toward China, Chinese volunteers entered the war.

Now, side by side, the Chinese and North Korean armies drove the invading US forces south. In the months ahead, the war evolved into positional warfare fought mainly from trenches along the 38th Parallel. Peace talks dragged on until an Armistice Agreement was signed in July, 1953. Recently the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK addressed a letter to the US Congress asking that the Armistice be replaced by a peace agreement. North Korea has never received a reply to this letter.

In the US, resistance to the war was led by the Youth Labor League and the American Peace Council. The YLL supported the North and held meetings on campuses. The American Peace Council held mass demonstrations for an armistice. Paul Robeson, honorary chairman of the APC, spoke out courageously against the war and was known as "the tallest tree."

The Korean War cannot be viewed apart from the early stages of the Cold War. Those who gained the most from it were the US militarists and industrialists, and reactionary Asian leaders like Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and the Japanese monopoly capitalists. The Korean War brought to an end the post-World War II reductions in the US military budget; it solidified the Cold War and arms race; it threw a protective US umbrella over Taiwan, giving Chiang a formal alliance in the mutual defense pact of 1955 and postponing Taiwan's liberation; it boosted Japan's industrial production by 70% and resulted in the US rearming of Japan.

The pattern of US power in Asia is frightening to contemplate. The same imperialist designs that made Korea a US target 28 years ago remain today.



US TROOPS AT THE YALU RIVER, 1950





## THE TRAIL: More Stories from

(Sparrow Hawk was the only North American to become a short order cook at a truck stop on the Ho Chi Minh Trail.)

### III

On my way to the Trail I spent some time in Cambodia, first in Phnom Penh and then in Siem Reap. Phnom Penh was a beautiful city but it made me sad. The more I got to know the Cambodian people, the more it seemed to me that this city -- with its Times Square neon movie houses and teen-aged prostitutes -- was not a truly Cambodian city, but an aberration created by Western cultural and imperialistic influences.

Cambodia is a beautiful country, a rice growing, fertile land. It has dense jungles and rugged mountains. Looking across paddies and fields, one can see rising peaks and pinnacles, covered in soft mists and framed by the people working with the water buffalo.

I left Phnom Penh after several days and found a ride to Siem Reap. Five hundred years ago and a thousand years before then, the Khmer nation was centered here. Here can be found the amazing and exciting temples, Angkor Wat and the others.

Living among the temples of Angkor and immersed in the history of the Khmer people, I tried to conduct myself in a meditative and courteous way. Often I returned to an open room near the top of Angkor Wat where incense burned in the presence of more than 60 different images of the Buddha. In the evenings I watched the dancers from the Royal Cambodian Ballet.

I grew restless and bought a bicycle, outfitted myself for a long journey, and took off for Laos. I wanted to visit the Plain of Jars, a beautiful valley inhabited by many people and surrounded by hundreds of large stone or clay jars, a treasure of the Laotian people that has now been obliterated by the carpet bombing B-52's and lost for all time. Nixon's secret air-war rendered the valley uninhabitable for more than four years. Laotian families were forced by the bombs to live in caves in the surrounding hillsides, and thousands and thousands were killed and injured.

Southern Laos is hilly land, beginning as soon as you pull away from the Mekong River valley. For two days I walked, pushing my bike because it was too steep to ride. Shortly after sunrise on my third day away from the river, two jets came screaming over at about 500 feet. Their sound had almost died out when a second series of sounds, recurring explosions, reached my ears. I was in Laos, 150 miles from the border, but I had stumbled into the Vietnam war.

I thought about the irony. Back home my draft notice would be coming any day, and here I was, knocking on the back door of Vietnam.

Two days later I saw a military convoy coming down the road. I pulled my bike into the bushes and watched a squad of 30 men in three trucks with some heavy artillery, a machine gun and, sure enough, sitting in the lead jeep was an American. I could see his Green Beret.

Instinct told me to lay low. I knew these were not my friends. After the convoy had passed, I was struck by the loud silence that remained. The birds whose song I had been enjoying before stayed silent. Suddenly there was a small gust of wind and I realized I was not alone. Out of the bush behind me stepped a young Laotian, with an AK-47.

I smiled.

He smiled.

Off we marched. I was a prisoner of the Pathet Lao.

When we reached his base camp, it was like a small city. To the US pilots flying above, it looked like any other dense



# a Truck Stop by Sparrow Hawk

river valley. I was questioned by a young man named Nghi who was a political cadre in the North Vietnamese Army. He had studied for awhile in Paris, so we could communicate quite well in French and soon became the best of friends.

Nghi sent a message to Hanoi suggesting I might come and work for the radio, writing messages to the US troops that had invaded South Vietnam. It took a month for the message to arrive in Hanoi and another three weeks for an answer. "Wait", it said, "it's not safe to come now, we'll be in touch." By then I had already landed a job as a short-order cook, and I spent the next six years living in those hills.



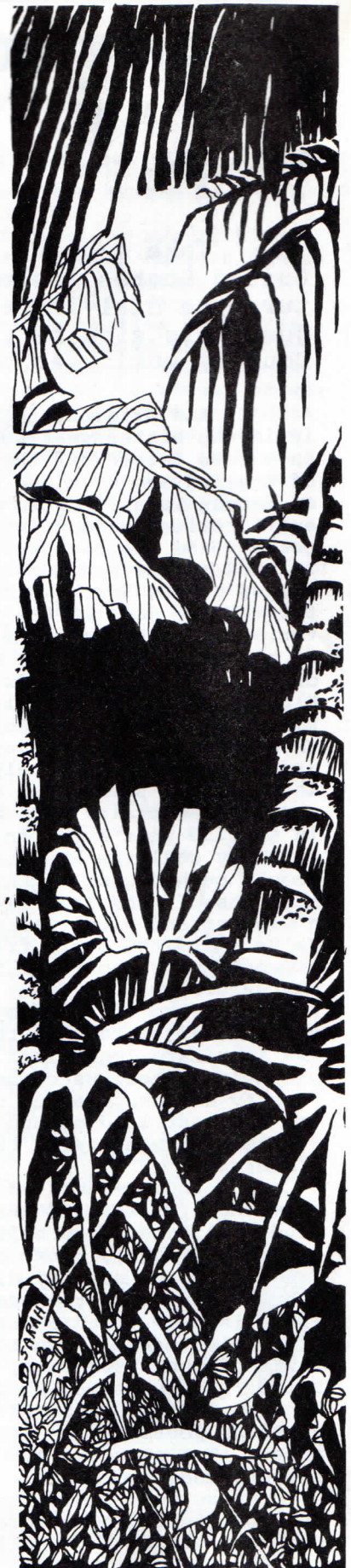
## IV

Chou En-Lai, the Premier of the People's Republic of China, once sent a yacht as a gift of friendship to Cambodian Chief of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The quickest and cheapest way of delivering it was down the Trail.

I was in the kitchen working at the grill when we first realized that something special was coming. I was getting better at cooking all the time, and this day I had killed two of the camp chickens and had fried them up in a wok with ginger and some wild onions. For dessert I was frying up some bananas, a rarity which had come down on a food supply convoy. I was getting very proud of my fried bananas and sometimes would even serve them flambe.

A high level survey party had come into camp. They would come through periodically, checking on developments and making recommendations as to what type of transport should use what part of the trails. For example, sometimes when a big truck convoy would be building up for a run, there would be an even larger convoy of people pushing bicycles that would start off at the same time. The US pilots would concentrate all their energy on attacking the truck convoy. Meanwhile, supplies would be pushed by hand on bicycles over smaller trails, covered over by jungle.

Three days after the team came through, we finally learned the purpose for their visit. Word spread that a boat was coming. It was taking the oldest, most well-known (and least used) part of the Trail. The US pilots were under orders to let it pass. On the ground, this was seen as a great victory. The boat was a symbol of Asian unity. It meant that the US was unwilling to provoke China. Besides, everyone thought it was hilarious and laughed about it for months.





# COUNTRY MUSIC

by A.M.

This article was sent to Osawatomie by a musician from the Deep South.

Take a drive. You can learn an awful lot about life in these United States listening to the car radio. Turn off the top forty and turn the dial in from the suburbs, to the other side of the bypass just this side of the Black ghetto, and listen for that steel guitar. Country music has city roots these days.

In its origins, as today, country music is the bittersweet song of people who have been forced off the land. Forced out of England and Scotland by the enclosure of common lands; forced off the Virginia and Carolina seaboard by the revived slave economy and the commercial land grab unleashed by the new Constitution. The poor whites of the South were pushed west, through the gaps in the terrifying and mysterious Blue Ridge, into a steep wilderness of high ridges and dark hollers. Some moved on to the rich flatlands of the Kentucky Bluegrass and the Nashville Basin, only to find that the land speculators had beaten them there. Others stayed in the Smokies and the Cumberlands, only to be forced out later by the timber and coal interests.

The mountains were but the first step in the 150-year Eviction the history books politely call the Westward Expansion. The people pushed west, pushing the Native Americans off the land as they went. It was a violent and bitter struggle for land. We've heard the story from childhood. But we won't hear about the forces that caused the whites to move, that unsettled the settlers. The official myth of the "pioneer spirit" serves to hide the real history of the intricate legal land steals of the republic's victorious commercial class, the poverty and desperation of the small farmer, the vast land monopoly held by the Southern slaveholders, the stink of human slavery.

The true seedbed of country music stretches far west of the mountains and includes all the broad belt of hilly (not often mountainous), rocky or sandy marginal farmland where slavery didn't pay. Bill Monroe is from western Kentucky; Hank Williams is from south central Alabama. Nashville sits near enough to dead center: north of the Black Belt, south of the Corn Belt. The Tobacco Belt. The Bible Belt. It's no land of mansions and gracious ladies and gentlemen in gray, but it is still a land that slavery made. It's the land that slavery made poor.

Cross this region today and you cross the continent. The people of the South tended to move south as well as west after the

Civil War -- into east Texas and Oklahoma's "Little Dixie" (where Woody Guthrie was born) until they blew with the dust and the Depression all the way to the Central Valley of California.



Credit: Jean Martin / SCF

The sound of country music made this same journey. It changed with the times from the gospel-oriented mountain style of the Upper South, as exemplified by the famous Carter Family; through the infusion of Black music picked up by country music's two greatest innovators, Jimmie Rodgers and Hank Williams, both from the Deep South; to modern honky-tonk and western swing (electrified, with drums), which developed in the South's first industrialized area, the oil boom country of east Texas and Louisiana. But in all its diversity, country music remains of a piece, and it reflects its origins in a remarkably homogeneous culture: overwhelmingly white, rural fundamentalist, overworked and undereducated, (and because of its peculiar relationship to the "peculiar institution" of slavery) profoundly



racist. The Okie from Muskogee is equally at home in Bakersfield, California or Bristol, Tennessee.

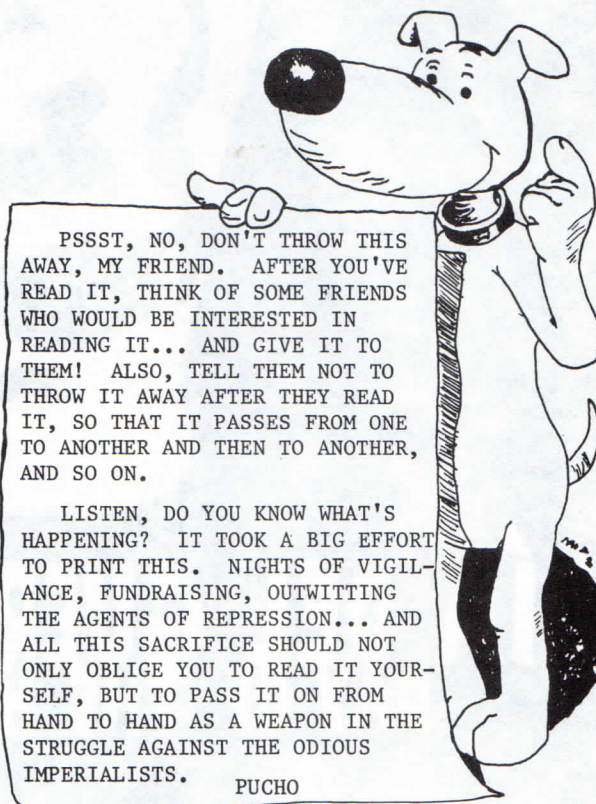
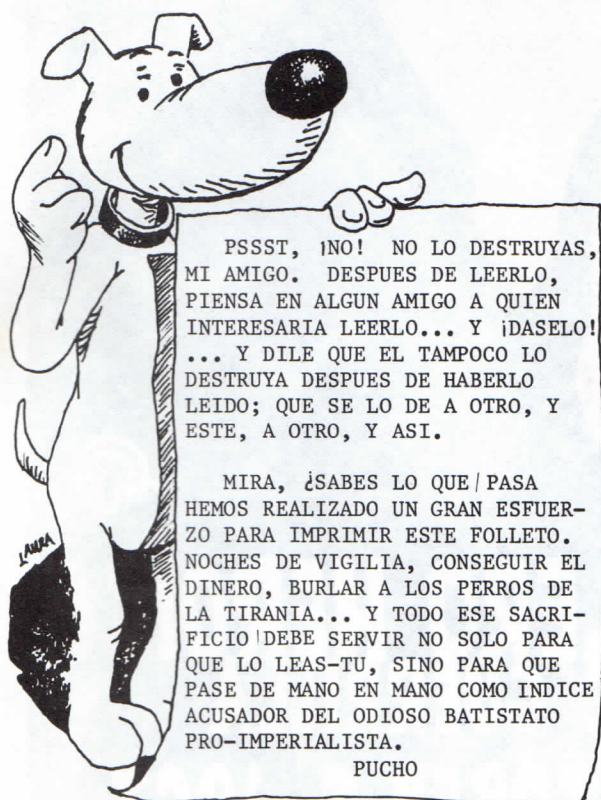
In one generation the United States completed the change from a rural to an urban society, and the process was not a gentle one. The history books tell of the "opening of new opportunities in industry," but the people's music tells a different story of broken homes, poverty, divorce, drinking and dead end jobs. By day I make the cars and by night I make the bars. D-I-V-O-R-C-E. Stone walls and steel bars, alot on my mind.

Country music is city music. It's about people with jobs, people in livery: waitress uniforms and blue shirts with FORD writ large on the back and "Wayne" writ small on the pocket. People who are sick of being put down; but are not quite ready to quit being used to put down others. People who count for more than all the stinking Rockefellers and Kennedys put together; but who aren't ready to believe it yet.

Merle Haggard's "Okie From Muskogee," one of the most reactionary songs of the 60's, points up many of the contradictions in modern country music. The song was immensely popular, not strictly because of

its angry and threatened response to the New Left and the hippie movement; but also because its appeal was mainly negative (we don't burn our draft cards, we don't smoke marijuana), that's because Haggard is a serious and thoughtful man in his way, and apparently could think of little that was positive to say about the system he felt called on to defend.

But such contradictions are nothing new to country music. Jimmie Rodgers was so proud when he was made an honorary Texas Ranger that he gave a \$1500 guitar to one of those racist, strike-busting cops. Yet the "Singing Brakeman" learned his famous yodeling style from a Wobbly. The jingoistic patriotism, the shabby treatment of women, the obligatory digs at welfare: these things are ugly and backward, and must be struggled against. Country music is backward because it is the product of the most backward society in the world today; it is often racist because of an unbroken 200-year history of racism. But it is not the voice of the Enemy. It is the plaintive and often beautiful voice of oppressed white working people: the voice of a necessary and long awaited ally.



"Pucho" is a cartoon character developed during the Cuban Revolutionary War. Laura, a graphic artist, drew "Pucho" in her advertising agency, after hours. It appeared in 1958 in Mella, a youth magazine which was part of the broad resistance to the dictatorship.





**DÍA DEL GUERRILLERO HEROICO**  
**DAY OF THE HEROIC GUERRILLA**

*Che*

**| OCTOBER 8, 1967**  
**| OCTOBER 8, 1975**

